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Washington Times

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China's nukes could reach most of U.S.

Russians also beefing up missiles, top general says

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Pentagon's top nuclear-war fighter said yesterday that China is engaged in a major nuclear modernization that includes development of multiple-warhead missiles capable of hitting all parts of the United States except southern Florida.

Air Force Gen. Eugene Habiger, commander of the U.S. Strategic Command in Nebraska, also said Russia has begun producing its new SS-27 strategic missile and is building new submarines armed with multiple-warhead missiles and new bomber-launched nuclear cruise missiles.

During a breakfast meeting with defense reporters, the four-star general said he is optimistic Russia's parliament will ratify the START II strategic arms reduction treaty this summer, despite uncertainty over ratification among

other senior U.S. officials.

While highlighting the new strategic weapons, Gen. Habiger sought to minimize the threat they posed.

The remarks come amid the disclosure of a secret proposal by the Clinton administration to offer China increased space-launch cooperation, including access to advanced missile technology. According to a classified memorandum

from the White House National Security Council that was obtained by The Washington Times, the proposal was to have been presented in China last week.

Noting the administration's active programs of economic cooperation with China, Beijing "in no way" can be considered an enemy of the United States, Gen. Habiger said yesterday.

Asked if he also believed Russia is not a threat, despite its 6,000 strategic nuclear arms, Gen. Habiger said: "I think, yes." But he added that Russia is the only power with the capacity to destroy the United States.

"The anomaly that we're faced with is that the Cold War ended, and did the loser really lose?" he said. "Did you see a demobilization? Did you see all those nuclear weapons come down in Russia? No."

After nearly 40 years of developing superpower arsenals, "we're in the eighth year of bringing this nuclear machine down, and I think we're doing a pretty good job,"

Gen. Habiger said.

Gen. Habiger also said the United States would use nuclear weapons against any rogue state that uses nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. "We now have a policy that's articulated that says nuclear weapons will be used in response to rogue states using weapons of mass destruction," he said.

Russia is also building a new "Borey class" of strategic submarines that will be fielded around 2005 with a new SSX-28 missile, he said. A new Russian air-launched cruise missile also is in the works, Gen. Habiger said.

Meanwhile, a new report by the Air Force's National Air Intelligence Center says Russian and Chinese strategic missiles "continue to pose a threat to the United States."

The report says that more than 25 nations now have ballistic missiles and that Iran and North Korea are building missiles with ranges of more than 1,000 miles. Land-attack cruise missiles pose a

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major threat to military operations and the number of states producing them will increase from two to nine in the next decade, the report said, noting that many will be exported.

"Ballistic and cruise missiles, with their relatively low operating costs, their probability of penetrating existing defense systems and their value as a symbol of national power, will continue to be the offensive weapons of choice for many nations," said the report, "Ballistic and Cruise Missile Threat."

"As such, they are threats that must be carefully considered in future military planning and operations," it said.

The unclassified intelligence report, which includes photographs and charts, says the size of Russia's nuclear force will decline because of arms agreements, aging systems and economic problems but notes, "Russia probably will retain the largest force of land-based strategic missile in the world."

It added, "Russia continues to invest heavily in its strategic missile force and most of its ICBMs are still on alert, capable of being launched within minutes of receiving a launch order."

The statement appears to undermine President Clinton's frequent claim that no nuclear missiles are targeted at the United States.

Two of the new SS-27s are deployed in silo launchers, and future variants will be placed both in silos and on road-mobile launchers, the report said. Its range is about 7,000 miles.

China's new ICBMs include the DF-31, a road-mobile missile with a range of more than 4,500 miles, and a second new mobile ICBM with a range of more than 7,000

GROWING MISSILE THREAT

A new Pentagon intelligence report says that more than 25 nations now have ballistic missiles like the medium- and intermediate-range missiles listed below that are deployed or in development.

Missile	Country	Deployment mode	Maximum range (miles)	Number of launchers
CSS-2	China	Limited mobility	1,750	Fewer than 50
CSS-2	Saudi Arabia	Limited mobility	1,500+	Fewer than 50
CSS-5 Mod 1	China	Road-mobile	1,100+	Fewer than 50
CSS-5 Mod 2	China	Road-mobile	1,100+	Not yet deployed
No Dong	North Korea	Road-mobile	600+	Undetermined
Taepo Dong 1	North Korea	Undetermined	925+	Not yet deployed
Taepo Dong 2	North Korea	Undetermined	2,500 3,700	Not yet deployed
Agni	India	Mobile	1,250+	Not yet deployed
MRBM	Pakistan	Road-mobile	700+	Not yet deployed
MRBM 1	Pakistan	Road-mobile	700+	Not yet deployed
MRBM 2	Iran	Undetermined	1,000+	Not yet deployed

Source: "Ballistic and Cruise Missile Threat," U.S. Air Force National Air Intelligence Center

The Washington Times

miles, the report said.

"They are modernizing their forces," Gen. Habiger said. "The Chinese do have an intercontinental nuclear capability and they have the deployment of an intercontinental ballistic missile that can reach most of the United States, except for southern Florida."

"See you in Miami; that's the place to go," he quipped.

Current Chinese strategic missiles are armed with a single warhead, but "they are looking at putting in a new system with multiple independent re-entry vehicles," or MIRVs, he said.

The keel for a new ballistic missile submarine also was laid. "We expect that submarine to be operational in five or six years, with a new missile," the general said.

In a subsequent interview, Peter

Pry, a strategic weapons specialist on the House National Security Committee, said, "It's a curious juxtaposition for General Habiger to say the Chinese are our friends at the same time they are deploying ICBMs directed against us and 'MIRVing' those ICBMs."

China's shift to multiple warheads is destabilizing in light of U.S.-Russian arms agreements that call for scrapping all land-based missiles with multiple warheads.

On Russian modernization, Mr. Pry said that unlike Moscow, the Pentagon has no new strategic weapons in development and is not building underground shelters and command bunkers like the facility in the Urals. "What we see in Russia is a one-sided nuclear arms race going on that we seem to be oblivious to," he said.

New York Times April 1, 1998

House, by Narrow Margin, Votes Money for Military

By Eric Schmitt

WASHINGTON -- The House on Tuesday narrowly approved \$2.9 billion for emergency military spending and aid to disaster victims, but the White House said President Clinton would veto the bill because money to pay for it would come from cutting some of the administration's prized domestic programs.

The vote was 212-208 -- surprisingly close given lawmakers' usual support for

troops in the field and constituents hurt by natural disasters. Seventeen Republicans -- moderates opposed to the domestic cuts and conservatives against U.S. military involvement in Bosnia -- voted with 190 Democrats and one independent against the legislation. Seven Democrats joined 205 Republicans in support of the bill.

The slim margin undercuts House Republicans' bargaining leverage going into what is expected to be a contentious

conference committee with the Senate late next month when lawmakers return from their spring recess.

"No one can dispute the fact this is a difficult bill, start to finish," Rep. Robert Livingston, R-La., who heads the House Appropriations Committee, told reporters after the vote.

The House legislation provides \$2.3 billion for military spending, primarily \$487 million for troops in Bosnia and \$1.3 billion for troops in the Persian Gulf, and \$75 million for disaster relief.

Senators completed work last week on an emergency spending bill, but it is vastly different from the House legis-

lation approved Tuesday. The Senate was more generous -- approving \$5 billion for disaster aid and military operations in Bosnia and the Persian Gulf -- and senators did not cut domestic spending to pay for it.

The Senate, by a vote of 84-16, had also attached \$18 billion in new financing for the International Monetary Fund to refill the fund's treasury, which has been strained by the Asian financial crisis.

House Republican leaders have separated the IMF monies and \$505 million in dues that the United States owes the United Nations in a separate spending bill, which will not come up for a vote until late

April, if at all, a spokeswoman for Rep. Dick Armey of Texas, the House Republican leader, said Tuesday.

Moreover, House Republicans have vowed to attach an anti-abortion provision to the IMF financing, which has drawn a veto threat from Clinton.

On Tuesday, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Defense Secretary William Cohen

and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin issued a public appeal for congressional support, saying the nation's economy and national security were at stake.

Pentagon officials have warned lawmakers for weeks that military readiness could suffer if Congress did not assure them by mid-April that the emergency financing was on the way.

The military does not

budget for unforeseen missions, so when they happen, the Pentagon borrows from other accounts to pay for troop deployments. Pentagon officials say these accounts will dry up in the next few months if Congress does not refill them.

Pentagon officials are concerned that the House and Senate might not reconcile their competing emergency-spending bills in time, so Co-

hen has ordered the armed services to consider deferring maintenance on equipment, temporarily closing nonessential operations and temporarily laying off thousands of civilian employees.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff met Tuesday for 45 minutes to discuss the problem, and senior Defense Department officials will meet next week to review their options.

Washington Post

April 1, 1998

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Arms Embargo on Yugoslavia

U.N. Security Council Seeks to Prevent More Violence in Kosovo

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post
Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, March 31—The Security Council imposed an arms embargo on Yugoslavia today to put pressure on President Slobodan Milosevic to employ dialogue rather than violence in resolving tensions with ethnic Albanians in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

The council's vote was in response to a call for cutting off arms supplies to Yugoslavia issued March 25 in Bonn by foreign ministers of the six-nation "contact group" that is seeking to head off a potentially bloody new ethnic conflict in the Balkans. With the United States urging an especially tough stance, the contact group is trying to get Milosevic to stop a crackdown by Serbian police on the Albanians who make up 90 percent of Kosovo's population.

Fourteen members of the council voted for the embargo resolution; China abstained. China, concerned about challenges to its control of Tibet, argued today that Kosovo is an integral part of Yugoslavia and thus an internal matter for the Yugoslav government.

The embargo is unlikely to have a large impact, since

Yugoslavia is well-armed and has a huge military advantage over Albanian separatists in Kosovo, who are also covered by the ban. The crackdown in Kosovo last month left 80 people dead.

Following the civil wars that tore the old Yugoslav federation apart in the early 1990s, Yugoslavia is today made up of Serbia and the much smaller Montenegro. While the former Yugoslavia was in existence, Kosovo had autonomy within Serbia from 1974 to 1989. This status was revoked by Milosevic in 1989.

The council's action was denounced by the Yugoslav ambassador, Vladislav Jovanovic, who called it "an unprecedented intrusion" that "is not acceptable to the government of Yugoslavia." He charged that the United Nations was allowing itself to be manipulated by "Albanian terrorists" seeking to create a separate state in territory that is "the ancestral cradle of the Serbian culture and religion."

Supporting the embargo was Russia, which has centuries-old ethnic and religious ties to the Serbs, and which fought a delaying action both here and within the contact group to limit the scope of the resolution. The contact group comprises the United States, Rus-

sia, Britain, France, Germany and Italy.

Russia agreed to vote in favor after the resolution's sponsors dropped a paragraph stating that the situation in Kosovo was a threat to international peace and security. The sponsors also strengthened language denouncing violence and terrorism from the Albanian side and reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia.

The embargo would be lifted only when the council is satisfied that the Milosevic government has started "a substantive dialogue without preconditions" about greater autonomy for Kosovo's Albanians, has withdrawn the special police units and security forces engaged in a crackdown

on the Albanians and has allowed access to officials of the U.N. High Commission for Human Rights and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The resolution also calls on the prosecutor of the U.N. war crimes tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to begin gathering information about possible rights violations related to the recent violence in Kosovo.

In a warning that was echoed by a number of other speakers, U.S. Ambassador Bill Richardson said, "The United States and our partners in the peace effort must not now watch years of peace-building in the Balkans destroyed by repressive violence, or by terrorist activity in Kosovo. President Milosevic now knows what he must do to have the arms embargo and other sanctions lifted and to avoid further measures."

New York Times April 1, 1998

Albania Calls in European Monitors to Watch Kosovo Border

By Jane Perlez

BAJRAM CURRI, Albania -- When Florian Raunig stopped in at a border point perched on a mountainous ridge just north of here, he was greeted by a handful of Albanian policemen, shivering in a windswept stone hut. The men

offered their visitor a helping of their skimpy rations of potatoes and a shot of raki, the local liquor.

On the opposite ridge in the Serbian province of Kosovo, the Albanians could see the modern border towers of the Yugoslav Army. Two miles farther on, but out of sight,

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were the recently reinforced, well-camouflaged and well-armed Yugoslav troops.

Raunig, 31, an Albanian-speaking Austrian who is a professor of philosophy, is the head of a four-member civilian monitoring group posted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to assess conditions in this lawless and forbidding territory that runs along the suddenly delicate border between Albania and Kosovo.

The opening here of a monitoring mission by the European organization, of which the United States is a member, is the beginning of an effort to bolster security along the border and to give the rag-tag Albanian forces some confidence as they peer across at the highly organized Serbs.

It is also an effort, diplomats said, to help insure that the Serbs have no grounds to accuse Albania of sending fighters or arms over the border to help the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo.

So isolated are the Albanian

border posts that the police are villagers who walk to work along rocky mule paths. They patrol on foot but spend most of their time trying to stay warm over a fire in their stone huts. The border police have one vehicle, a clattering 30-year-old Chinese jeep -- for use by the commander only.

Here every male is armed, every family has stocks of arms and the Albanian police are either in league with bandits or overwhelmed by them. The region, considered too unsafe for American and United Nations personnel, has become a no man's land for foreigners. Raunig and his three colleagues are the only outsiders.

A fear in Western capitals is that the clashes in Kosovo between the ethnic Albanian separatists who live there and Serbian forces could expand to draw in Albania.

Rumors abound in Belgrade and in the West that the shadowy group of separatist guerrillas known as the Kosovo Liberation Army keeps a training camp or base in these northern

mountains. The Albanian Government wanted to show, through outside monitors, that this was not the case, Raunig said.

"The Albanian authorities here and in Kukes deny that these camps exist," Raunig said, referring to another border town southeast of here. "They don't deny the name Kosovo Liberation Army, but they deny everything else."

Emotions in Albania have run high in February as the Yugoslav President, Slobodan Milosevic, has cracked down on the ethnic Albanian majority in Kosovo. Families in this northern region of Albania have close kin there.

After a few days of observation here, Raunig said that although the Albanians in this region were by tradition warriors and were sympathetic to the Albanians over the border in Serbia, they lacked the wherewithal to help.

The Albanian Army, an antiquated force made from remnants that emerged from 50 years of harsh communism, fell

apart during the civil strife that erupted a year ago. Theoretically, a division of the Albanian Army, headed by Gen. Kudusi Lama, exists in Kukes, but it has no soldiers to dispatch to patrol the border.

Lama presides over a headquarters that exemplifies the state of the army: a handful of ancient Chinese and East German trucks and a couple of battered American jeeps stand in the yard. Behind his desk, Lama keeps a Chinese-made assault rifle and a dated pair of binoculars.

The Albanian government has asked NATO to send troops to the country to stage an exercise to show the Serbs that they should not be tempted to strike across the border. But NATO declined, saying the Albanian Army was in too much disarray to take part in an exercise with NATO troops.

Instead, NATO announced that it would send a small group of technical advisers to help Albania train its border guards and secure its ammunition depots.

Washington Post

April 1, 1998

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U.S. Fine-Tunes Focus Of Macedonia Mission

Conflict in Kosovo Poses New Worries

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post
Foreign Service

OBSERVATION POST 54, Macedonia—When Yugoslav government forces assaulted ethnic Albanian villages in Kosovo several weeks ago and frightened 13,000 people into fleeing their homes, the action attracted rapt interest among the nearly two dozen U.S. troops manning this remote hilltop observation post on Macedonia's northern border with Yugoslavia.

Normally their daily routine here is so boring that they greet rare visitors with apologies about the lack of excitement. But there are new concerns that if the simmering ethnic tensions in Kosovo come to a full boil in the months ahead, the quiet region northwest of this post might be flooded with refugees or perhaps even additional Yugoslav forces, putting added strains on the 350 Americans deployed near the border.

The lightly armed U.S. force is part of a 750-person United Nations contingent sent here six years ago to help preserve the stability of this ethnically diverse former Yugoslav republic.

The initial goal was to deter undue political pressure or outright intervention by the Yugoslav government and help tamp down internal tensions between a majority population of Slavic descent and a minority of ethnic Albanians.

But the mounting frictions in Kosovo are rapidly becoming the U.N. force's principal focus, and the local U.S. commander has already shifted some of his troops to begin staffing a remote observation post within direct sight of Kosovo, a province of Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic.

A similar battalion of soldiers from four Scandinavian nations has stepped up its daily patrolling along the border to the west of here, checking for new operations by the Yugoslav army or unusual infiltra-

tion by Albanian refugees or guerrillas.

In response to the new tensions, the United States and its European allies have begun discussing whether to enlarge this military force after its U.N. mandate expires in September and alter its operation to allow more aggressive patrolling, according to a senior U.S. official in Washington. The Macedonian government has indicated it would welcome the shift, but the U.N. Security Council would have to grant its approval, and Russia -- a close ally of the Yugoslav government -- may be reluctant to go along.

The discussion is motivated partly by widespread fears among Western officials that a substantial flow of Albanian refugees into Macedonia could roil its delicate local politics and invite a direct intervention by Yugoslavia if they use the country as a base to wage attacks inside Kosovo. But it remains unclear how, or whether, any additional U.N.

forces might be authorized to intervene.

The mission is one of the oddest undertaken by U.S. troops anywhere, because its official aim is only to keep watch for any signs that violence could erupt, rather than to stop any fighting as in most U.N. peacekeeping assignments.

The U.S. soldiers fulfill their task by hiking through nearby hills, driving along winding mountain roads in squat, wide humvees, or flying overhead in Black Hawk helicopters -- each painted white with a U.N. insignia.

They particularly keep an eye out for any units of the Yugoslav military, using charts prepared by the U.S. intelligence community. But no matter what they see, they only record it in reports that are distilled and passed along to the U.N. headquarters in New York.

"We register the smugglers [who pass through the border], but do not open their luggage," said Polish diplomat Henryk J. Sokalski, the special representative of the U.N. secretary general in Macedonia. "We must be totally impartial" by-

standers.

In contrast to the rules of engagement that govern U.S. troops deployed in nearby Bosnia, where the citizenry is considered more hostile, these soldiers patrol with their rifles slung over their shoulders, the barrels pointing down, and with cartridges not routinely installed. They also do not wear flak jackets, and are authorized only to fire in self-defense. But many U.S. soldiers nonetheless say their presence has a calming effect.

"Maybe because we are here nothing will happen," said Pvt. Christopher Beasley, 19, of Thomasville, N.C.

"We're here to support stability within the region," said Sgt. Maj. Daryl Moore, 41, of Montgomery, Ala., who supervises the operation of this observation post, one of four

the U.S. battalion mans routinely. Everywhere U.S. forces go, he said, "we make a statement," and if the circumstances require it, "we have the capability of changing hats" to adopt a more aggressive posture.

It is not clear that military officials in Washington have much enthusiasm for the U.S. presence here, however, despite the sentiments of these soldiers and the Clinton administration's public support for U.N. operation. The Army, for example, has taken some extraordinary -- and controversial -- precautions in an apparent effort to ensure that U.S. forces are kept farther from harm's way than the troops of other nations.

For example, the American troops are under strict instructions never to venture within 300 yards of the border, unlike

soldiers from Finland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway that routinely patrol along an agreed path crossing back and forth along the frontier. This restriction is greatly resented by the Scandinavian soldiers, who say the Americans "are sitting back" so far they cannot see key segments of the territory under their control.

The U.S. contingent also is assigned to patrol a 55-mile-long border area, which lies directly across from Serbia and to the east of Kosovo. The Nordic battalion, in contrast, has the same number of troops deployed along a border area 160 miles long, directly across from Albania and Kosovo. Several officials said the Army has repeatedly spurned efforts by Brig. Gen. Bent Sonnemann, the Danish commander of the U.N. operation, to redis-

tribute U.S. forces so that the military burdens are shared more equitably.

Even within the administration, "there have been disputes about rules of engagement the military has insisted on," said an official in Washington, who asked not to be identified. He said the Army's aim was to limit any chance that U.S. troops would directly encounter Yugoslav soldiers, who in several incidents last year allegedly tried to rob some of the Americans in remote areas near the border.

"It is for domestic consumption," said a foreign official about the restricted U.S. rules of engagement. "They do not want to risk" having to explain to Congress why any American became a casualty in Macedonia.

New York Times

April 1, 1998

The Horror of Bosnia Draws Only a Few

By Tim Weiner

WASHINGTON -- Lilted violin and accordion music from a nearby reception echoed in a hearing room on Capitol Hill on Tuesday morning, resounding off walls draped with photographs of mass graves.

Slides showing skulls shattered by bullets and skeletal wrists bound with wire filled a darkened chamber. The bones belonged to men and boys hunted and killed like rabbits in the woods.

The music was a jarring accompaniment to the horrific images at a congressional hearing that explored the West's inaction while thousands were massacred by Bosnian Serb soldiers at the U.N. "safe haven" of Srebrenica in July 1995.

At this sparsely attended hearing -- three members of Congress came -- the subject was genocide, past, present, and future.

No Bosnian Serb leaders have been arrested in the massacre, despite stern statements by the United States, the United Nations and NATO -- the same powers whose forces took no action, despite pledges to protect the town and its Muslim inhabitants.

Rep. Christopher Smith, R-N.J., who convened the hear-

ing, said the United States and the United Nations should make public what they knew at the time about the possibility of a mass killing and why they did not or could not stop it.

Many such files exist. For example, a U.S. spy satellite photographed hundreds of Muslim men held at gunpoint in an open field on July 13, 1995, evidence of a crime in progress. These pictures showed "men kneeling on the ground near what soon turned out to be mass graves," Smith said.

Other classified government records could "shed light on what the international community knew about Srebrenica before, during and after the massacres," he said.

Releasing such documents, he said, would make the United States begin to come to grips with its failure to take action against the authors of a massacre and would hold the United Nations accountable for its role in what was, "at the least, betrayal of trust; at worst, complicity in genocide."

Witnesses testified Tuesday that the slow exhumation of bones and facts had not stopped those most culpable from killing again and that the failure to account for the crimes of Srebrenica was the root cause of new deaths in the province of

Kosovo in southern Serbia last month.

"We are at the end of the 'Never Again' century and genocide is happening again," said Eric Stover, a human-rights advocate who helped dig up those bones.

John Heffernan, the executive director of the Coalition for International Justice, who was an aid worker during the fighting in the Balkans, noted in his testimony that President Clinton last week acknowledged the world's failure to act while 500,000 Rwandans were killed in 1994.

Clinton vowed "Never again must we shy away in the face of evidence" of genocide, but the world has shied away from Srebrenica, Heffernan observed, and Serbian paramilitary forces have been firing on ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, killing at least 80 people.

He and other witnesses called for the United Nations and the United States to help arrest the Bosnian Serb leaders charged with masterminding the biggest war crime in Europe since World War II: the former commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, and the former president, Radovan Karadzic.

The facts of Srebrenica are known. On July 10, 1995, soldiers of the Bosnian Serb army began storming the town, a

refuge under U.N. protection where more than 40,000 Muslims sought shelter from war.

Some Western commanders thought the "safe haven" was indefensible militarily, and complained that Bosnian Muslim troops were operating out of Srebrenica. And some Western diplomats viewed a Muslim enclave encircled by Bosnian Serbs as an impediment to negotiated boundaries for a ceasefire.

In addition, many senior officers in the peacekeeping force thought the Bosnian Serbs would simply occupy the town, and said later that they did not receive adequate warning about Bosnian Serb intentions. The case was made that only the mobilization of a vast NATO-led ground force could have saved Srebrenica.

The argument over why Western commanders let Srebrenica fall continues. But when it fell, Mladic's troops began rounding up and hunting down the male inhabitants.

When the killing was over, more than 6,000 people were dead.

Days before, Gen. Bernard Janvier, the U.N. commander for Bosnia, vetoed air strikes that Dutch peacekeepers in Srebrenica had requested to defend the town. After the town fell, the Dutch peacekeepers failed to relay crucial warnings to the United Nations, including their own accounts of Mladic's vow to

massacre the Muslims.

The witnesses testifying Tuesday said the failure of 35,000 heavily armed NATO troops in Bosnia to arrest Mladic and Karadzic was evidence of the emptiness of the world's promises about Srebrenica.

The Yugoslav president, Slobodan Milosevic, "is directing the crackdown in Kosovo while providing a 'safe area' -- confirmed by a number of very highly placed U.S. government officials -- for the twice-indicted alleged architect of Srebrenica, General Mladic."

Heffernan said.

Diane Paul, a Human Rights Watch expert, said: "We have been told repeatedly, and I might add, condescendingly, that those indicted for war crimes will be brought to justice 'sooner or later.'"

But "the two persons be-

lieved responsible for organizing the systematic deaths of thousands of people from Srebrenica are still at large," she said. "What message is being sent to Milosevic on Kosovo when Mladic and Karadzic are permitted to escape justice?"

European Stars & Stripes

April 1, 1998

Pg. 2

U.S. intelligence operations staying full force in Bosnia

By DeeDee Doke
U.K. bureau

RAF MOLESWORTH, England — A smaller force presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina after June won't equate to a similar cut in the U.S. military intelligence's focus on the Balkan region, a military intelligence official says.

Air Force Col. Frances Early said the Joint Analysis Center will continue to bring in nearly 150 augmentees and Guard and Reserve members at a time to reinforce the center's staff as the Bosnia mission evolves into its third phase. The center, a key U.S. European Command intelligence operation, also will continue to deploy staff members to the Balkans to contribute to intelligence efforts downrange.

"Whether you have 1,000 men and women on the ground or 6,900 or 20,000, the level of intelligence support that's required for those troops remain the same — particularly in terms of force protection," Early said in an interview.

"You could argue that the need for vigilance increases because there are fewer forces on the ground."

Established in 1992, the center is staffed by 644 permanent-party civilians, airmen, soldiers, sailors and Marines to conduct its intelligence mission 24 hours a day seven days a week.

Over the past year, Bosnia has experienced lengthy periods of relative calm, dotted with potentially dangerous peaks caused by such issues as voter registration and elections, the arrests of suspected war criminals, and upturns in activity by supporters of former Bosnian Serbian strongman Radovan Karadzic.

Early expects "the rhythm to remain much the same in the future." But, she warned, "In those valleys, there are just as many issues we're concerned about and need to research and be smart on. So when it hits a peak, we can bring the resources to bear that we need to."

Along with other EUCOM

units, the analysis center will find itself with even more responsibilities in October, when six former Soviet states join the 83 countries under EUCOM's area of responsibility. The countries are Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova and Ukraine.

"It's going to have a significant effect," Early said.

"Of those six countries, four have had some type of military action in the last five years. These are not inconsequential countries that will be coming to

us for analysis and reporting. So we will be focusing significant resources on that new area."

To do that, the Molesworth operation will shift some of its less critical business to Reserve intelligence units in the United States such as the Joint Reserve Intelligence centers at Fort Sheridan, Ill., and Fort Gillem, Ga.

Also, the Molesworth center will get eight new civilian slots, Early said.

New York Times

April 1, 1998

U.S. Plans Wider Drug Fight in Colombia

By Diana Jean Schemo

WASHINGTON -- The Clinton administration asked Congress on Tuesday to sharply increase funds to fight drug trafficking in Colombia, and set this goal: that within three years, Colombian cocaine and heroin would disappear from American streets.

Announcing what he called "an ambitious new strategy to attack narcotics trafficking in Colombia on all fronts," R. Rand Beers, director of the State Department Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, asked for a \$21 million increase in the original \$30 million package, which was presented two months ago. Total aid to Colombia, including military aid, was \$95 million in 1997, he said.

But the plan, described at a hearing before the House international relations committee, drew immediate criticism from both Republicans and Democrats who said that the administration's handling of the problem had been haphazard and that there was no evidence that Colombia could wage a sustained war to wipe out drug trafficking -- even with U.S. aid.

The administration was also criticized for failing to follow through with earlier directives from Congress to increase to the Colombian police.

But Beers said the United States had "an unprecedented opportunity" to destroy coca growing in Colombia. He said success in sharply reducing coca cultivation in Peru and Bolivia by disrupting deliveries to Colombia had changed Colombia from a nation that largely processed and transported cocaine to the leading grower of raw coca.

Nearly 80 percent of the cocaine in the United States and an increasing share of the heroin come from Colombia.

"We want to eliminate Colombian cocaine and heroin from American streets in several years," said Beers. "By several, I mean three."

The added money would be aimed at improving intelligence about drug cartels, expanding fumigation of coca crops and intercepting planes and boats transporting coca paste and cocaine. It would also strengthen the work of Colombian police, Beers said.

Though the State Department formally requested additional funding only for Colombia, Gen. Charles E. Wil-

helm, commander in chief of the U.S. Southern Command, which oversees operations in Latin America, said anti-drug efforts in Peru and Bolivia would also "need to be pumped up -- we need to raise the bar."

The administration's anti-drug efforts have come under unrelenting criticism: Republicans say the administration failed to move quickly enough with the money and authority it already had to combat trafficking in Colombia, while Rep. Lee Hamilton, the ranking Democrat on the committee, said there was no evidence of the political will in Colombia to eliminate drug trafficking.

Hamilton said the administration was making much of its support for Gen. Rosso Jose Serrano, chief of the Colombian National Police, despite misgivings about the Colombian Government.

Last year Colombia reduced military spending by 30 percent. "What does that tell you?" Hamilton asked.

Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., said a congressional order to upgrade 12 helicopters for use by the Colombian National Police had not been acted upon, though the money had been available since 1996. Though Beers said the money

was not available until last year, he agreed the work had not been done.

Wilhelm said. "What we have is a fractional commitment in Colombia." He said the Colombian armed forces had also come up with an anti-

narcotics plan, but lacked the money.

"If we don't do anything now," Beers said, "we're going to find ourselves in a much worse situation strategically in the coming years."

Philadelphia Inquirer April 4, 1998 Pg. 4

The first inspections of Saddam Hussein's palace compounds will be completed Saturday, the chief of the arms-inspection team said yesterday. U.N. arms experts have visited six of the eight palace compounds that Iraq opened under a Feb. 23 accord, searching for information on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Only two more palaces in Baghdad -- the vast Republican Palace and the smaller Sijood palace -- are left.

Toronto Star

March 30, 1998

Pg. 14

Drug politics in Colombia a trap for U.S.

By labelling rebels narco-guerrillas, America risks another Vietnam

By Linda Diebel
Toronto Star

A CHILL WARNING came out of the Amazon jungles of southern Colombia: American soldiers are going to die.

The threat came from rebel Comandante Fabien Ramirez this month after his Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) unit attacked one of the Colombian army's crack battalions.

Eighty-three soldiers were killed, 43 more were captured and scores were left wounded and unable to be moved to safety for a week.

Ramirez said U.S. military advisers (usually Special Forces soldiers) are heading covert counter-insurgency operations against the rebels, rather than fighting drugs as the United States is supposed to be doing.

The guerrilla chief spoke to Reuters journalist Karl Penhaul in an extraordinary interview in a jungle hideout in Caqueta province. Colombian Air Force bombs pounded the surrounding hills the whole time.

"The claim that the United States is combatting drugs in Colombia is a sophism," Ramirez said. "All the military and economic aid it is giving to the army is to fight the guerrillas."

"Most (Colombian) battalions have U.S. advisers, so it is clear that Colombian rage will explode at any moment - and the objective will be to defeat the Americans."

The U.S. takes Ramirez seriously. He handed the Colombian army its worst defeat in 30 years of fighting.

Two weeks ago, a top U.S. general rushed to Bogota for talks and, in a more and more belligerent mood on Capitol Hill, Congress is increasing

spending to boost Colombia's armed forces.

Colombia is torn apart by, essentially, a civil war between government troops and guerrilla groups, among them the powerful FARC.

Right-wing death squads, shown to be allied to the Colombian army, have turned the country into a vast killing field in which hundreds of thousands - mostly innocent civilians - have perished over the last decade.

The U.S. role in Colombia has been changing rapidly over the past year. Already, military aid has risen to an estimated \$ 195 million annually.

And in recent weeks the number of military advisers - from Green Berets to Navy Seals - has doubled to about 225, according to reports. (That's only what has been made public, mostly by human rights groups.)

Analysts now warn of the "Vietnamization" of U.S. policy in Colombia.

They see the same slow escalation - a bit more money, a few more advisers and trainers, maybe some regular troops - that led to the U.S. entanglement in Vietnam almost 40 years ago.

"What happens when American boys start coming home in body bags?" asked Eduardo Gamarra, of Florida International University, in a telephone interview. "The guerrillas are already saying the American military adviser is a legitimate target of war. What do you think the U.S. reaction will be when they start dying?"

Gamarra and others argue that Washington's involvement in Colombia no longer focuses on the highly touted war on drugs throughout the hemisphere. U.S. military aid in Colombia can be spent against

rebels only if they are shown to be narco-traffickers. But that line has been blurred by a campaign to paint all rebels as narcos.

"In my view, there is already a (U.S.) covert war in Colombia," said Gamarra, "and that's a very dangerous proposition."

Lt.-Col. Byron Conover, from the U.S. Southern Command, shrugs off the Vietnam comparison. "We haven't got that many folks down there," he told reporters recently. "I don't consider it a Vietnam type of thing."

At the Washington Office on Latin America, a non-governmental human rights watchdog, Coletta Youngers warns that the push to increase the U.S. role in Colombia is dangerous, for Colombians and Americans.

"By going into Colombia we're exacerbating political violence," she told The Star from Washington. "We run the risk of being enmeshed in another civil war with no end in sight..."

"It's jungle warfare and you can look at case after case when the U.S. slides down this same slippery slope, from Vietnam to El Salvador."

Youngers is especially concerned about the U.S. aiding a military linked to death squads.

In its report, Colombia's Killer Networks, the group Human Rights Watch/Americas last year documented how the U.S. defence department and the CIA oversaw a revamping of military intelligence that created death squads throughout the country. The squads carry names like "the Headcutters."

In another report, Amnesty

International showed that the United States provided weapons to 13 of 14 Colombian army units cited for human rights abuses, including the massacre of civilians.

The Toronto-based Inter-Church Committee on Human Rights in Latin America has criticized the Liberal government for selling Canadian helicopters to Colombia.

And, after an investigation into "Colombia's Gringo Invasion," the U.S. magazine Covert Action Quarterly recently printed top-secret military documents in which U.S. army lawyers assessed the extent of any public relations damage over human rights abuses by the Colombian military.

"The U.S. army was more concerned with covering its brass than stopping abuses," concluded the report.

The Colombian military, backed by allies in Congress, has succeeded in selling the perception that all Colombian guerrillas are narco-guerrillas. Any war on guerrillas, therefore, is a war on drugs, which merits the use of U.S. money and resources.

A case in point: The U.S. drug czar Barry McCaffrey, a retired general, says there are 15,000 narco-guerrillas in Colombia. That happens to match estimates of the total number of rebels.

"That everybody-is-a-narco strategy is just wrong," said Gamarra, adding he's well aware that "some rebels are narcos, just as some soldiers are narcos."

"But, to go in there with the wrong intelligence - a complete misreading of the real conditions in the country - can be pretty ridiculous and very dangerous."

House OKs copters for Colombia

Recommends use in drug fight

By Tom Raum
Associated Press

WASHINGTON -- The House voted Monday to press the Clinton administration to provide three sophisticated Black Hawk helicopters to the Colombia police in the war against drugs.

Sponsors of the resolution argued that Congress had voted last year to procure the three helicopters -- costing \$36 million total -- for the Colombian National Police but that the

administration has failed to do so.

The advanced UH-60L helicopters would augment Colombia's fleet of aging Vietnam-era Huey helicopters, which sponsors noted were being grounded in this country by the Army and National Guard.

The measure passed by voice vote.

Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., chairman of the House International Relations Com-

Miami Herald

March 31, 1998

mittee, told the House the Huey helicopters are no match for well-organized and well-armed Colombian drug traffickers, who operate in the Andes Mountains at altitudes up to 12,000 feet.

"We have to take this drug problem seriously," Gilman said, observing that 80 percent of the world's supply of cocaine originates in Colombia.

Congressional skeptics suggested the Hueys were adequate for the job -- and that the Colombia National Police

didn't have the trained pilots to fly the newer helicopters.

"This will be taking funds away from Peru and Bolivia," said Rep. Neil Abercrombie, D-Hawaii.

But Gilman said that Colombia did have trained pilots able to fly the Black Hawks. He noted that four Americans were kidnapped in Colombia by rebels just last week -- and were being held at altitudes at which the Huey helicopters cannot operate.

New York Times

April 1, 1998

German Aircraft Faulted for Collision With U.S. Jet Off Africa

By Robert Hanley

McGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, N.J. -- The German troop transport that collided head on with an Air Force cargo jet off the coast of Africa last September, killing 33, was cruising at the wrong altitude, the Pentagon said Tuesday.

The German plane, a Soviet-made Tupolev 154, was flying at 35,000 feet, but should have been flying at least 2,000 feet lower or 2,000 feet higher as it headed southeasterly over the Atlantic toward Windhoek, the capital of Namibia, for a refueling stop, said Col. William Schell, who headed the Air Force investigation of the crash.

At impact, the Air Force jet, a C-141, was flying northwesterly from Windhoek, on the first leg of its journey back to its home base here, after delivering Army minesweeping equipment and troops to Namibia to search for land mines buried during its war of independence from South Africa. The two planes hit almost nose to nose.

The C-141's nine crew members were killed. Last December, divers recovered the remains of two crew members, Capt. Peter Vallejo and Capt. Jason Ramsey. Other skeletal remains were found amid the plane's debris on the ocean

bottom, but could not be identified, the report said.

All nine crew members are to be memorialized in ceremonies at Arlington National Cemetery on Thursday. Vallejo and Ramsey are to be buried separately.

Schell said the C-141, flying at 35,000 feet, was at the correct altitude for its northwesterly direction. But, he said, any planes on a southeasterly course in that part of the Atlantic must fly at either 29,000, 33,000, 37,000 or 41,000 feet, under regulations from the International Civil Aviation Organization. The German pilot, he said, should have known of those directives and abided by them.

Schell's report offered no explanation of the pilot's failure to follow the regulations.

As the Air Force issued its findings here, the German air force, in a report released in Bonn, acknowledged its jet's responsibility for the crash.

Data from the German plane's cockpit voice recorder and flight data recorder show that a crew member realized the planes were going to hit only 1.4 seconds before the collision, too late for evasive action, The Associated Press reported.

No one on the U.S. plane was aware of the approaching German plane's presence before impact, Schell said.

In the ensuing 13 seconds before the C-141 exploded, the

crew put on oxygen masks and began looking for flashlights, according to information from the plane's cockpit voice recorder, he said.

Aside from pilot error, Schell listed a string of mistakes and misfortunes as secondary reasons for the fiery midair collision, including the failure by air traffic controllers in Angola, Namibia's northern neighbor, to correct the German plane's altitude or inform it of the approaching cargo plane.

He also said that a flight plan for the German plane reached Windhoek garbled because of a bad computer transmission, and that faulty telephone lines prevented air traffic controllers in Luanda, Angola, and in Windhoek from exchanging information about the whereabouts of the two jets as they headed toward each other.

Ground-communication links between various air-traffic control centers in Africa are unreliable, the report said.

It noted that their telephone lines often were damaged by vandals or chewed up by animals. The report also said that there often was only sporadic forwarding of planes' flight plans from one traffic control center to another via the Aeronautical Fixed Telecommunications Networks.

Schell also said the crash could have been prevented if either jet carried a warning system that alerts pilots to approaching planes. The collision-alert system, called Traffic Alert and Collision Avoidance System, is common on commercial airliners. On the eve of release of Schell's findings, Defense Secretary William Cohen announced that the Pentagon was stepping up installation of the devices on its planes.

The German plane carried 24 soldiers, most of them going to Capetown for ceremonies making the 75th anniversary of the South African navy. All 24 were killed.

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Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin is planning an informal summit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin on Sept. 3-6. "The Chinese leader is expected to come to Moscow with his wife, and the talks . . . will take place in a family atmosphere," Russia's Interfax news agency said.

Hutu rebels fighting Rwanda's Tutsi-led government opened fire on a refugee camp, killing 20 people before storming a nearby jail and freeing 29 Hutu inmates. The victims included both Hutus and rival Tutsis. The freed inmates were accused in Rwanda's 1994 Hutu-organized genocide that left more than 500,000 dead.

Washington Post

April 1, 1998

Pg. 1

Justices Allow Ban On Polygraph Use

By Joan Biskupic
Washington Post
Staff Writer

The Supreme Court ruled yesterday that state and federal governments may ban the use of polygraph evidence in court, declaring that doubts and uncertainties remain about the accuracy of the so-called lie-detector tests.

Close to 30 states, including Maryland and Virginia, ban polygraph evidence, and some legal experts said yesterday's 8 to 1 decision may prompt the states that do not have outright prohibitions on polygraphs to consider imposing them.

The ruling marks the first time the high court has taken up the issue of polygraph testing, and it comes at a time when the machines are increasingly being used outside the courtroom. Prosecutors use them to extract confessions from suspects and defense lawyers use them for leverage in plea bargains. The military uses them to safeguard national security and prevent espionage, and companies often rely on them to uncover employee wrongdoing or to monitor workers in sensitive jobs.

Although the test results can still be used for these purposes, the Supreme Court yesterday said they can be banned from courtrooms, and sent a signal that their accuracy is in doubt.

Advocates of polygraphs say the instruments have grown increasingly sophisticated in recent years in their ability to determine whether a person is lying by recording their breathing, blood pressure and skin conditions.

But several justices expressed skepticism about the science and the ability of any examiner using the polygraph device to accurately gauge whether someone is telling the truth.

"There is simply no consensus that polygraph evidence is reliable," Justice Clarence Thomas wrote for the court.

Because "uncertainties plague even the best polygraph exams," the court found that forbidding a defendant from introducing the results of a

polygraph test, to show he is telling the truth, does not violate his right to fully defend himself.

Yesterday's case involved Edward G. Scheffer, a former U.S. airman who was court-martialed for using methamphetamines, passing bad checks and going AWOL. Yet he had passed a polygraph test asking whether he had used illegal drugs. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Armed Forces said the military's automatic ban on polygraphs was unconstitutional and that Scheffer had a right to at least try to lay a foundation for the reliability of the polygraph result, as he would other evidence.

But the Supreme Court reversed that decision, ruling that Scheffer was not "significantly impaired" by exclusion of the polygraph evidence.

Although only one justice dissented, the majority spoke with no definitiveness.

Thomas and three other justices sought, not only to uphold bans on polygraph evidence, but to discourage states from ever allowing their use in court. "By its very nature, polygraph evidence may diminish the jury's role in making credibility determinations," Thomas said, joined by Chief

Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Antonin Scalia and David H. Souter.

But the other justices in the majority broke ranks, saying that perhaps in the future another dispute might offer a more compelling case for the introduction of polygraph testimony.

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy wrote in a concurring statement that he agreed with the majority that a defendant does not have a constitutional right to use polygraph evidence, but he doubted that an automatic exclusion of the evidence was "wise." Joined by Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer, Kennedy said some later case may be more compelling to say that defendants have a right to introduce polygraphs.

Justice John Paul Stevens, who was the lone dissenter, emphasized the value of the tests to a defendant and noted that the military gives "hundreds of thousands of such tests and routinely uses their results for a wide variety of official decisions.

Stevens called the government's position inconsistent. While it routinely uses polygraphs and says it is an

"effective investigatory tool," the Justice Department said it was not reliable enough to be used in court and, unlike other scientific evidence, could mislead a jury by purporting to show the "truth."

"There will always be critics of the polygraph," said Gordon L. Vaughan, counsel for the American Polygraph Association. "But I think the opinions suggest that there is an ongoing debate about the reliability of the polygraph." Thomas wrote that most states ban polygraph evidence, and Vaughan said that breaks down into 29 states with outright bans, 16 states that allow some test results if both the prosecution and defense agree to it. One state, New Mexico, makes them generally admissible.

Federal courts are split on whether polygraph results may be introduced. "This ruling could have some tendency to discourage the admission of polygraphs," said Charles W. Daniels of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers.

Charles L. Hobson, of the Criminal Justice Legal Foundation, which sided with the government, said the ruling in *United States v. Scheffer* properly gives state and federal governments the ability to limit questionable evidence.

New York Times

April 1, 1998

Analysis

Lockheed Gains in Merger, but Still Faces Pentagon

By Leslie Wayne

Lockheed Martin Corp. has scored some minor legal victories so far in defending itself against the government's effort to block its proposed \$8.3 billion takeover of Northrop Grumman Corp.

But winning early skirmishes and winning the war are two different matters.

Tuesday, a federal judge turned away Defense Department objections and ordered the government to give Lockheed some documents it sought within 10 days. The same judge also indicated he was leaning toward Lockheed's request to start the trial by early summer, at least two months before the

government wants the case heard.

Still, most antitrust experts say Lockheed faces at best a slim chance of prevailing in the largest antitrust case brought by the government. Their analysis boils down to one simple vision: the specter of the secretary of defense, under oath, telling the court that a Lockheed-Northrop union would threaten national security.

"This case is an incredible long shot for Lockheed," said Marc Schildkraut, an antitrust lawyer with Howrey & Simon. "You have Lockheed's main customer, the Defense Department, coming out and saying this deal will hurt us. I think a

judge would be sympathetic. That is the best thing that Justice has going for it."

William Kovacic, a law professor at George Mason University, has a similar view. "At some point," he said, "the secretary of defense will say this deal is not in our best security interest, and I don't believe there is a district judge in the country who would contradict that view."

From a legal standpoint, the decision by the Justice Department, supported by the Defense Department, to take Lockheed Martin to court to block the merger presents an unusual case. It will be the first in more than 20 years on the issue of

vertical integration, or the ability of an acquiring company to control a chain of suppliers in ways that could dampen competition.

Moreover, it is a case that Lockheed has decided to fight rather than accept the government's view that the merger should be dropped -- an effort that puts it in direct conflict with its biggest customer -- the Pentagon -- which provided the company with \$12 billion in revenue last year.

"Normally, people don't litigate these things with the government," said Peter Standish, an antitrust lawyer at Weill Goshall & Manges. "The government doesn't sue unless it thinks it has a strong position, and companies don't like to end up in court because it costs a lot of money and takes up lots of time."

The case is before U.S. District Judge Emmet Sullivan, who has indicated he will set a trial date of late June or early July. On March 23, the government filed to block Lockheed's acquisition of Northrop on the ground it would hurt competition among military contractors. The government argues Lockheed would favor Northrop's military electronics products in Lockheed's air-

planes, space platforms and other military equipment in ways that could block out other electronics suppliers.

Already, Attorney General Janet Reno has raised the image of America's fighting forces being harmed by this proposed merger, an argument that many antitrust lawyers consider the government's showstopper. In announcing the lawsuit, Ms. Reno said a Lockheed-Northrop combination was not "just about dollars and cents, it's about winning wars and saving lives."

Although Lockheed executives would not comment on the case, the company has issued a statement that provides a glimpse into its trial strategy.

In fact, Lockheed's arguments are the reverse of the government's: The company contends a Lockheed-Northrop merger would strengthen competition and save the government more than \$1 billion a year, and the company promises it would be a "merchant supplier," buying electronics equipment from other suppliers besides Northrop.

Moreover, the company said that without Northrop, Lockheed would be at a competitive disadvantage to the only other

military aircraft contractor, Boeing Co., especially as these two compete to be chosen as the prime contractor on the coming joint strike fighter, a next-generation aircraft that promises \$100 million in revenue.

In addition, Lockheed has said it will shed \$1 billion of Northrop's assets from the deal to eliminate most anticompetitive problems from overlapping businesses, making this a true antitrust test case of vertical integration involving control over Lockheed's suppliers.

Vertical integration is an area with little legal precedent and one in which there is room for a real debate, giving Lockheed a chance.

"The vertical issue, issues of control over suppliers, is historically an area where there is not a lot of strong court precedent," said George S. Cary, an antitrust lawyer with Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton and a former Federal Trade Commission lawyer. "This means there is something to talk about in court."

Other military contractors have taken on the Department of Defense -- and won. Earlier this year, a federal court ruled that General Dynamics and

Boeing were entitled to \$1.2 billion in damages when the Navy canceled the A-12 stealth attack program in 1991. Both companies still received billions of dollars in military contracts.

Moreover, antitrust lawyers say that while Lockheed has only a slim chance of prevailing in this case, the legal fight is worth a try. Justice Department lawyers, already pressed by the antitrust case against Microsoft Corp., will be going against Lockheed's seasoned legal team. In addition, Judge Sullivan might accept Lockheed's arguments that the merger would not be anticompetitive.

Besides, Lockheed, with \$28 billion in annual revenue, has the wherewithal to spend millions of dollars on legal expenses, and the payoff if the deal goes through would be worth it.

"I'll never say there is no chance," said Steven Newborn, a former FTC lawyer who now works for Rogers & Welles. "Even though it's a long shot, what does Lockheed have to lose? The Northrop deal is very lucrative for them, and the incremental cost for them to try it won't be that high."

Analysis

On Road to Talks, Israel Tiptoes and U.S. Chafes

By Steven Erlanger

WASHINGTON -- The U.S. Middle East negotiator, Dennis Ross, has returned to Washington after another not-quite-futile trip, leaving the Clinton administration with a set of difficult choices.

Does President Clinton decide to continue down Netanyahu's preferred path of minor concessions, modest progress and high tension, sending Ross back to the Middle East yet again, or change tack and try to put real pressure on the parties and go public with the administration's views?

Ross made some headway with Netanyahu and the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, especially on how a third Israeli redeployment might be decided, and on how to handle a possible "timeout" on Israeli settlement activity.

But Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said Tuesday that "it's not nearly enough" for a breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian impasse, and the very nature of the process -- slow, tense and exceedingly incremental -- gives no easy answer to the Clinton administration's Middle Eastern dilemma.

That stalemate is not only damaging Israel's position in the Middle East, but Washington's, too, in a period when Iran policy is in flux and Iraq remains a crisis that, at best, is only in abeyance.

"Don't believe those who say there is a peace process; that's not the situation," Albright told American Jewish leaders in a briefing on Friday, according to notes of the call. "There is a real problem and the United States is losing its credibility among all the parties

involved."

In response to a Netanyahu-inspired storm of concern from American Jewish leaders, the United States will not impose ultimatums on the parties or try to force through "an American plan," Albright stressed. The United States has no final plan of its own, senior White House officials insist, but is only trying to refine a proposal that represents Washington's judgment of a compromise acceptable to all involved.

The U.S. strategy has been to phase Israeli withdrawals from the West Bank, due under the Oslo Accords, in parallel with specific Palestinian steps against terrorism, culminating after three months in accelerated negotiations on a final settlement between the parties.

Part of the U.S. frustration is concern that Netanyahu is playing for time -- with minor

concessions like those to Ross and with ideas like giving the Palestinians less -- but more contiguous -- land, to look like an embryonic state -- because he prefers to risk confrontation with Washington rather than with the harder-line right wing in his own Cabinet.

That is why, the officials say, Netanyahu suggests a withdrawal of 10 percent or 11 percent to Clinton, while denying, sometimes to his own Cabinet, that he has done so, preferring simply to call the U.S. proposal of a 13 percent withdrawal unacceptable on security grounds.

But despite the general impatience with Netanyahu, Clinton and Vice President Al Gore are not convinced that an open confrontation with an elected Israeli prime minister -- or his politically active American supporters -- is the best tactic to pursue, senior U.S. officials say.

That is why Clinton reversed himself and sent Ross

New York Times

April 1, 1998

out this last time, after Netanyahu presented some promising new ideas, and why Netanyahu hopes Clinton will agree to send Ross again.

Netanyahu is trying to hold back concessions for the final peace talks, the goal to which stalled interim agreement is supposed to be the bridge. But Israeli and Arab officials admit that trust between the parties is so low that Arafat is trying to get all the territory he can now, before those talks begin, in case they founder.

Senior U.S. officials understand Netanyahu's tactics, while regarding them as shortsighted, and the security difference the Israelis insist upon -- between 13 percent and 11 percent -- as essentially spuri-

ous. They believe that Netanyahu may be willing to make a deal, at the last moment, "only when he has exhausted all other possibilities," one official said.

And they believe that the U.S. proposal, should Clinton decide to go public with its outlines, will strike most Israelis as eminently reasonable and closer to the Israeli position than the Palestinian one. Going public would create more moral and political pressure on Netanyahu to agree or make a deal, rather than risk an open rupture with the U.S. president.

At stake would be the relationship with the United States and its president, who are regarded as true, unselfish and

vital friends of Israel.

Even more important, one official said, is that "the relationship with the United States is not just friendship, it's the guarantee of Israeli security, and that's important to people."

An open battle with Washington was an important reason that a previous Likud prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir, lost the 1992 election, and Israelis are unlikely to thank Netanyahu for a ruined relationship with Washington over 2 percent of the West Bank that few Israelis could identify.

Clinton will not be back in Washington to consider the issues fully before his return from Africa late on Thursday.

In the end, the president will have to decide if he thinks Ne-

tanyahu is serious about peace, and if the United States, given all its interests in the Middle East, could ever afford to lay out a plan and then -- if it is refused by either side -- declare a "policy review" and, in effect, walk away.

"We're looking for the kind of flexibility to bridge the gaps, and we don't have that yet," said a senior U.S. official. "There was some progress, yes, modest but substantive. And if flexibility on small issues is an indicator of a willingness to make hard choices on the bigger issues, that's good news, then we can overcome the gaps. But if it's a delaying tactic, that's very different, and that we'll have to find out."

Syria digs in heels on Mideast peace

Belarus, Ukraine to refurbish arms

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NICOSIA, Cyprus — Syrian President Hafez Assad is digging in for long-term opposition to Washington's peacemaking efforts in the Middle East, encouraged by the prospect of a major overhaul of his aging Soviet arsenal.

The durable Syrian leader wants no partial solutions, even

though they might lay the groundwork for further progress, say diplomats. His whole strategy is based on demands for the unconditional return by Israel of the occupied Golan Heights, something Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has categorically refused.

Syria can wait for what officials describe as a "comprehensive peace" in the area, in which Damascus would play a leading role, according to one Western assessment.

And so far Damascus has been left out of efforts concerned with Israeli territorial concessions to the Palestinian Authority and Israel's possible withdrawal from its "security zone" in southern Lebanon.

As U.S. diplomacy grapples with

the fading prospects for reviving the paralyzed peace process, Mr. Assad is seeking succor in agreements with Belarus and Ukraine to help him overhaul the array of weapons acquired from the former Soviet Union.

Strapped for cash and mired in growing economic difficulties, the two former Soviet republics are hoping to supersede Moscow's once-dominant role in Syria.

Protocols for a major overhaul of the Syrian industrial-military complex have been signed and others are in the works. After a visit by Defense Minister Alexander Chumakov, technicians from Belarus will soon start work on old Soviet armored materiel and rocket systems.

Belarus is also to build a tractor factory in Aleppo, in northern Syria.

The government in Damascus, diplomats say, insists that if the peace process is to succeed, Syria, the traditional "Arab heartland," must be consulted. This means that no separate agreement between Israel and Lebanon should even be considered, because Lebanese foreign policy is essentially dictated by Damascus.

Internally, Mr. Assad's regime — in power over 30 years — ap-

pears to have the situation well in hand. After a series of bombings in the spring of 1996, there have been no reports of unrest or tangible opposition to the government.

Defense spending is a major economic burden, with half of the national product going to the armed forces in one form or another. Syria also maintains 35,000 troops in northern Lebanon and has given no indication they will be withdrawn.

The government has been very careful about economic liberalization measures, considering them potentially dangerous to political stability. Despite various constraints, Syria has made some economic headway, particularly in agriculture.

Syria no longer imports wheat but exports it, as well as cotton, fruit and tobacco. It pumps 600,000 barrels of oil a day, half of it for export.

Population growth is a major problem, and some diplomats describe it as a potential time bomb. Now at 15 million people, Syria's population is expected to grow by one-third during the next seven years.

To stem the tide, the government hopes to reduce the average family from the present seven children to five.

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Weekly notes . . .

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen is to visit Turkey this month to discuss defense ties between the two NATO allies. Mr. Cohen, who postponed the trip in February amid tension over U.N. weapons inspections in Iraq, is to visit Incirlik Air Base on April 17 and meet the next day in Ankara with Turkish authorities.

Turks drop charges against 4 airmen

By Cindy Elmore
Stuttgart bureau

Turkish military police have dropped charges against four U.S. airmen whom they detained and searched in January over the objections of American officials at Incirlik Air Base.

The confrontation raised questions about Turkey's jurisdiction over American servicemembers. But lawyers for the U.S. Air Forces in Europe have determined that Turkey did not violate the NATO Status of Forces Agreement, said Col. Scott Gration, commander of the 39th Wing and 39th Air and Space Expeditionary Wing at Incirlik.

Even so, Gration said Turkey's installation commander has verbally agreed to notify U.S. officials before detaining other U.S. servicemembers suspected of a crime and before searching U.S. military office buildings. U.S. servicemembers' base homes can be searched only on Gration's authority, the colonel said. The State Department is working to codify the agreement, "which is bigger than just Incirlik Air Base," he said.

The four Americans were accused by a Turkish soldier of beating and robbing him early Jan. 25 on Incirlik Air Base, which is a Turkish-owned base shared with American and British forces.

The Turkish soldier was allowed to pick out the four airmen using their base gate-pass photos. Without any witnesses or corroborating evidence, three airmen were picked up, and their base quarters were searched without U.S. approval. They were detained in jail offices overnight without being told why. A fourth airman was detained and released the next day.

"I don't think (the Turks) think they did anything wrong.

And if you look at Turkish law, they did not do anything wrong," Gration said. "Yes, based on U.S. standards, it was a little different — that's an understatement."

Three of the accused airmen said the last two months have been tough and they are not convinced other American servicemembers will be better protected.

"You're not protected by the SOFA. If you're in their country and if something happens, they can get you," said Airman Anitra Williams.

Also accused were: Senior Airman Shymain Williams (no relation), Tech. Sgt. Mark Townsend and Tech. Sgt. Ray Honeycutt.

Photos of some of the accused were published in local Turkish newspapers, along with a description of the accusations against them.

"They knew that they didn't have any evidence. That was obvious," said Anitra Williams, who is due to leave Incirlik this summer.

Gration said the Turkish justice system came to the right conclusion after its lengthy investigation.

"They wanted the judicial process to continue. We, of course, maintained the innocence of our people all along," Gration said. "When they reviewed the charges, there was just not enough reliable evidence" that the Americans committed any crime. All the questions about jurisdiction dragged out the process, he said.

Meanwhile, after an accusation was made recently against another American airman, Air Force officials were immediately notified and allowed to detain the airman themselves while the claims are investigated. Gration declined to go into detail about the case, but said it proves similar accusations will be handled differently in the future.

Meanwhile, Townsend and Shymain Williams said they feel uneasy about remaining in Turkey.

"It's been nightmarish," Townsend said. "It's been a very long 60 days. I left the base only to take care of what I needed to take care of and that's all."

NAVY CHALLENGE: The Navy is challenging a court ruling that barred it from dismissing a sailor who posted a gay profile on America Online. Federal District Judge Stanley Sporkin ruled in January that the Navy violated the military's "don't ask, don't tell" policy and stopped the discharge of Senior Chief Petty Officer Timothy McVeigh. McVeigh's AOL profile included homosexual references, but it listed the owner only as "Tim." Sporkin said that the sailor's anonymous posting did not constitute an admission of homosexuality, which is prohibited, and that the Navy improperly pursued McVeigh. — Steven Komarow

In the Loop

By Al Kamen

Lee Drops Reserves

Deborah R. Lee, assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs and one of the longest-serving Clintonites at the Pen-

tagon, is going private sector. Lee, a longtime aide to the late representative Les Aspin (D-Wis.), who went with him to the Pentagon, is going to work for United Technologies Corp., where she's to be vice president of international operations and marketing, focusing on selling the hardware abroad.

U.S. Frets Over Russian Plan To Complete Reactor in Cuba

By Matthew Brzezinski
Staff Reporter Of the
Wall Street Journal

MOSCOW -- Senior U.S. officials attending an international energy summit in Moscow are expressing concern over Russia's plans to build a nuclear reactor in Cuba.

U.S. Secretary of Energy Federico Pena said in an interview that he has "grave" reservations about Russian negotiations with Cuba to complete a partially built nuclear power plant near Havana.

"It would not sit well with residents of Florida," said Mr. Pena, who is attending a meeting in Moscow of energy ministers of the eight leading industrial nations.

Though Mr. Pena stressed that Russo-Cuban talks in the \$700 million deal are still preliminary, he said he is worried about the safety implications of finishing a project that was abandoned nearly 20 years ago.

Construction of two Soviet-designed light-water reactors began in the early 1980s. Financial problems in both Cuba and the Soviet Union eventually stalled the project in Juraguá, 304 kilometers southeast of Havana. In February, however, Russia signed a new bi-

lateral trade agreement with Cuba and initiated a memorandum to resume talks on financing and finishing the facility, ITAR-Tass and Cuba's official Prensa Latina news agencies reported.

A Cuban delegation is expected in Moscow in two weeks, according to official reports.

"We hope the talks will lead to a positive decision this time," said Alexander Nechayev, a member of the Russian agency that builds nuclear power stations abroad.

Should the negotiations show progress, it won't be the first time the White House and the Kremlin clash over Russia's growing nuclear technology exports. Russia's \$1 billion deal to complete two nuclear reactors in Iran has sparked fierce opposition in Washington, which is worried that the facility will be used to build nuclear weapons. Moscow on Tuesday reiterated its plans to go ahead with the Iranian project. "Russia's actions in Iran are inconsistent with nonproliferation ideals," Mr. Pena said.

Also high on the agenda Tuesday was the latest round of talks over terms of sale of highly enriched weapons-grade uranium to the U.S. Under a

1993 agreement, Russia was to convert 500 tons of the material from nuclear warheads into low-grade uranium for resale to U.S. utilities. But the \$13 billion deal fell apart over concerns about a little-known company the Russian government had selected to broker the transaction.

Mr. Pena said the problems surrounding the deal wouldn't be finalized on this trip. He added, however, that the pros-

pects of unlocking major U.S. investments in Russia's jealously guarded oil sector did appear promising. Tens of billions of dollars in oil exploration and development deals by the likes of Exxon Corp., Amoco Corp. and Texaco Inc. are on hold because of legislative roadblocks. Mr. Pena is scheduled to discuss the investments with Russia's acting prime minister, Sergei Kiriyenko, Wednesday.

New York Times March 31, 1998 Pg. 2

Correction

An article yesterday about efforts by American military contractors to lobby the Senate in favor of NATO expansion referred imprecisely to the relationship between the arms industry and the U.S. committee

to Expand NATO. While the committee has the political support of the industry, its by-laws forbid it to accept corporate contributions.

Editor's Note: The article referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, March 30, 1998, Pg. 1.

International Herald Tribune

April 1, 1998

Pg. 1

Athens Gets Assurance From Yeltsin On Missiles

Weapons for Cyprus Raise Prospect of More Russian Arms Sales

Reuters

MOSCOW - President Boris Yeltsin, eyeing future arms sales to Greece, reassured Athens on Tuesday that Moscow would not back down over a controversial deal to deliver missiles to Cyprus.

The Russian president met Defense Minister Apostolos-Athanasios Tsouhazopoulos of Greece in a departure from protocol described by the Kremlin as underlining the "special prospects for Russian-Greek military and technical cooperation," the Interfax press agency said.

Interfax quoted Sergei Yastrzhembsky, a Kremlin spokesman, as saying Mr. Yeltsin had assured Mr. Tsouhazopoulos of "Moscow's determination to fulfill the contract to provide Cyprus with the S-300 anti-missile defense system on time."

Turkey said last week that the deployment of the surface-to-air missiles on the divided island, expected in September or October, could lead to fighting.

Turkey has about 30,000 troops on Cyprus, which has been split since Turkish forces invaded the north of the island in 1974 after a brief Greek-Cypriot coup engineered by Greece. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is recognized only by Ankara.

The Greek-Cypriot government, which is recognized internationally, has about 10,000 guards on the island.

Tensions flared Jan. 4 when the Greek-Cypriot government announced that it had

signed a deal with Russia to buy long-range ground-to-air missiles.

Since then, Turkey has threatened military action against the Greek-ruled part of Cyprus to stop it from deploying the missiles. Turkey also has threatened to set up air and naval bases in the northern part of Cyprus that it occupies, if Greece continues to set up military bases in the southern

part of the island.

Mr. Tsouhazopoulos, meanwhile, thanked Moscow for backing the Greek-Cypriot government during his meeting with Mr. Yeltsin, which focused on geopolitics, in particular the crises in Serbia's Kosovo Province and Iraq, Interfax quoted Mr. Yastrzhembsky as saying.

The Itar-Tass press agency had said that Russia was

hoping to sell its S-300 systems to Greece and was due to compete in a tender in May against a U.S. offer of Patriot missiles.

Mr. Tsouhazopoulos is also due to meet the secretary of Russia's Security Council, Andrei Kokoshin, Foreign Minister Yevgeni Primakov and Acting Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Rybkin.

He also plans to visit several defense industry institutes and will give a news conference Thursday.

New York Times

April 1, 1998

Biological Arms Threat

To the Editor:

"Russia's Deadly Expertise" (Op-Ed, March 27) was eye-opening with regard to the intentional use of biological weapons, but Ken Alibek's expertise developed in working in bioweapons research in the former Soviet Union and Russia should not lead others to share his "hope of eliminating

biological weapons from this earth." Such a feat is impossible.

Anyone with a grudge, a bathroom-size lab and a basic biology textbook can develop pathogens that could endanger many lives.

While the means of distribution may appear limited, anyone with half a wit, as he suggests, could infect thou-

sands if not tens of thousands before being discovered.

CHUCK WOOLERY
Rockville, Md.,
March 27, 1998

Editor's Note: The op-ed referred to appeared in the *Current News Early Bird*, March 27, 1998, Pg. 17.

Jane's Defence Weekly

April 1, 1998

Air operations over Bosnia will continue

NATO air operations over Bosnia will not be reduced until after the country's national elections in September. "With the initial SFOR mandate ending this June, the NATO alliance realises our tasks are not complete; we must stay engaged to ensure our previous efforts do not go to waste," said US Air Force Brig Gen Scott van Cleef, Director of NATO's

Combined Air Operations Centre (CAOC) in Vicenza, Italy.

Gen Van Cleef said: "I anticipate the force structure requirements for air power will initially change very little. However, as the political, military and economic situation allows, there is potential to reduce our presence in and over Bosnia and Herzegovina."

"A window of opportunity may present itself as early as this fall, after the national elections."

Gen Van Cleef was speaking last month at a ceremony marking the fifth anniversary

of the Royal Netherlands Air Force presence at Villafranca Air Base, Italy, in support of the Bosnia operations. He also marked the fifth year that Italy has provided "safe bases and support for our air operations".

"Today, we control about 75 aircraft which fly from bases in six European nations to support SFOR. That number is down from a peak of 297 aircraft assigned in 1995," he said.

He added that during the five years since Operation 'Deny Flight', NATO has flown more than 190,000 sorties, including 41,000 in support of SFOR since December 1996.

New NATO Allies are Boon not Drag for US

Christian Science Monitor

April 1, 1998

By Lamberto Dini

NATO won the cold war without firing a shot, but by standing firm and tall. It also achieved the more elusive, unnoticed, goal of creating a bridge between Europe and America, and of defining an Atlantic identity stretching from Alaska to Turkey. That's taken for granted today - but it was unthinkable of at the end of World War II.

NATO has defined two halves of this century. It made Americans and Europeans realize that they had common interests. With NATO's defensive mission accomplished, members weren't then prepared to send the alliance into retirement. NATO became the cornerstone of Euro-American partnership and the main tool of security in the unsettled post-cold-war world.

The alliance itself might not be threatened, but its neighborhoods are unstable.

Only NATO could stop the Bosnian tragedy; only NATO could provide some degree of stability to other countries of former Yugoslavia and a sense of collective security to the entire Balkan peninsula; only NATO could constructively engage the new Russia and reach out to all the republics emerging from the disintegra-

tion of the Soviet Union. In so doing, the alliance has continued to do what it does best: It serves and enhances the interests of the US, Canada and the European members.

NATO will expand because not doing so would have prevented the alliance from enlisting fresh resources in the defense of its values and interests. NATO membership is no free ride. Benefits are enormous, but they come with commitments. It brings security to new members and enhances the security of old and new alike.

In Italy, the alliance is seen as a cornerstone of stability in Europe. Besides its long-standing defensive value, its very presence - and indeed its growth - does prevent conflicts before they arise. NATO has a remarkable record of defusing potential crises in Europe and around Europe. And when a substantial military presence is needed "out of area," as in Bosnia, there is no substitute for it.

Peacekeeping doesn't come cheap, but failure to provide it is even more expensive, and its consequences are unpredictable. In southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean, NATO's role might be decisive in defusing crises, preventing conflicts, and encouraging the countries of those regions to

cooperate among themselves.

In spite of its vocal opposition to enlargement, Russia has shown to be more interested in cooperating with rather than confronting NATO. Moscow can't and shouldn't interfere in alliance decisions, but a constructive relationship is a very welcome development. As a result, the overall security in Europe, and indeed in the world, has further improved.

When we debate the costs of enlargement we forget that we have already cashed in on our investment - in the long term, the more secure environment that we strive to create and the addition of new allies to the collective security, will more than offset the modest additional expenses required. Italy will honor its fair share of enlargement costs as assessed by NATO and agreed by all allies.

Finally the new NATO as well as the current NATO will remain a defensive alliance. All members will be expected to add value to its capacity of self-defense. Moreover, they will have to be security providers rather than simple consumers. This is happening in the real world (Bosnia). But rhetoric can be misleading.

Sometimes, when America takes the lead, European contributions pass unnoticed, even if they account for more than

half of the military presence as is the case with the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia. American leadership boosts NATO credibility: it's always a welcome commitment and often a necessary one. But Europeans do share the burden of common security - even much of it.

Italy's track record as security provider is a good example. We participated in the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) and SFOR and will continue to be part of the follow-on-force in Bosnia after June, possibly with increased responsibilities. We are engaged in strengthening politico-military collaboration with new member Hungary and NATO-candidate Slovenia. We took the lead of the "coalition of the willing" that successfully defused the Albanian crisis last year, involving approximately 7,000 European troops, from nine countries, more than half of them Italians.

There is no shortage of arguments in favor of enlargement. As we make the case for it, we should keep in mind its overriding rationale. NATO embodies the soul of the Atlantic partnership: America's engagement in Europe and Europe's willingness to have Americans as allies in Europe.

Lamberto Dini is Foreign Minister of Italy.

Dallas Morning News

April 1, 1998

NATO

Senate should reject moratorium on new members

The U.S. Senate should reject an amendment that would place a three-year moratorium on admission of new North Atlantic Treaty Organization members.

The amendment, whose chief sponsor is Sen. John Warner, R-Va., would not affect the candidacies of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania. NATO would still admit those countries in 1999, assuming that the U.S. Senate ratifies their membership.

Rather, the amendment would block additional NATO admissions for three years. Sen. Warner argues that the military alliance needs at least that long to absorb the three former Soviet satellites. And he wants to placate Russia, whose leaders are nervous - some would say paranoid - about the eastward expansion of the Soviet Union's former Cold War rival.

Sen. Warner is right about one thing: It will take at least three years for NATO to absorb the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania. Therefore, it is worthwhile to ask: If the alliance is patently unprepared to accept additional members before then, why stipulate it in law? President Clinton could just as easily assure

Russian President Boris Yeltsin, quietly and without fanfare, that NATO will not move precipitously to expand beyond the current crop of new candidates.

Blocking new members would unnecessarily tie U.S. hands. Furthermore, it would discourage potential candidates, such as Romania and Slovenia, for whom the prospect of NATO membership has been a big incentive to reform their economies and to settle border disputes.

For example, the prospect of NATO membership has encouraged Romania to settle its border disputes with Hungary, Moldova and Ukraine because no country may be admitted without resolving such problems. It also has led Romania to start reforming its state-heavy economy, without which it could not afford the high cost of meeting NATO military standards.

Besides, Russia's legitimate concerns can easily be addressed in the context of the NATO-Russia Founding Act. That act provides for close consultations on Euro-Atlantic security matters.

Sen. Warner is a fan of NATO but no fan of NATO expansion. He co-sponsored another amendment that would delay membership for the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania until they join the European Union - an unlikely prospect in the near term since none is prepared for the economic rigors of European Union membership.

The Senate should ratify NATO membership for the new candidates - soon, and without amendments that discourage Europe's emerging democracies.

Crusading housewife strives for Bay of Pigs closure

By Sue Mullin
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

OSKIWAS, Nicaragua — As the Black Hawk helicopter alighted on a remote hillside, a team of forensics specialists from the U.S. Army's Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii strode forward to welcome the visitors.

With any luck, the military specialists speculated, the VIPs would be properly prepared for this trek.

The climbing would be rugged and the chiggers thick and blood-thirsty; they also carry mountain leprosy.

Looking as spiffy as they could in the jungle heat, the seven men and two women from the lab were about to begin sifting dirt in search of the remains of two Cuban-American fliers who crashed during the Bay of Pigs invasion 37 years ago.

At the crash site, hundreds of bits and pieces of a B-26 jutted from the ground. Vegetation was still being cleared by Nicaraguan farmers hired especially for the task, some of them former Sandinista soldiers and some of them former Contras.

The visitors included Cuban-born U.S. Ambassador Lino Guiterrez, Nicaraguan Defense Minister Jaime Cuadra and a Miami housewife whose relentless efforts gave rise to this search: Janet Ray

Weininger.

"The goal is to bring back the remains with honor and dignity," said Mrs. Weininger. "It's a code of loyalty that you have for those who have gone before you."

Those who went before were Crispin Garcia and Juan de Mata Gonzalez, two Cuban exiles from Miami who were on a bombing mission during the 1961 Bay of Pigs operation when their B-26 crashed into a mountainside during a nighttime storm.

Then-dictator Anastasio Somoza, a CIA asset, visited the site shortly after the crash but decided to allow the bodies — and the story — to remain there unrecognized.

The agency was not eager to let it be known just how involved it had been in the Bay of Pigs invasion; that it was training Cuban exiles and using secret bases in Nicaragua; or that it had the cooperation of Somoza.

Most details of the crash remained secret until last year, when they were declassified by the agency. In the intervening years, however, an Alabama girl from a military family was growing up

and asking questions for which there were only vague answers.

For 18 years, the questions revolved around her father, Pete Ray, who was killed in a separate incident during the Bay of Pigs operation.

"What was my dad doing there? Why had his plane been shot down? Where was he buried?" Those were the questions that plagued Mrs. Weininger.

She badgered congressmen and senators in every state where she lived with her pilot husband. She queried the U.S. military, the CIA, Cuban exiles in Miami. If they refused to talk to her over the phone, she flew at her own expense to meet them. She became an expert at seeking documents under the Freedom of Information Act.

With her honeyed Southern accent and beaming smile, she got old buddies of her father to put her onto other contacts from whom she gleaned new details about her father's military record and — as she would slowly learn — his CIA background.

After 18 years, she discovered that her father's corpse was still being preserved in a Havana freezer. She then got the U.S. government to put pressure on President Fidel Castro until he authorized the release of the body.

Mrs. Weininger was finally able to bring her daddy home.

"When I brought him back to the States, I wrote him a long letter and I said 'I will always love you and I will always need you, but I want you to know that if you had it to do all over again, I would want you to do it just the way you did.'"

Through her long association with Cuban exiles, Mrs. Weininger learned there were others looking for lost loved ones. And she went to work on the cases of Crispin Garcia and Juan de Mata Gonzalez with the same fervor that allowed her to ferret out the facts about her father.

Three years ago, Mrs. Weininger put together the final piece of the puzzle and found this site. The son of one of the pilots, Frank Garcia, was with her at the time.

"It was this intense feeling," she remembered on her latest visit to the site. "It was exactly 34 years from the day the plane went down. I wondered what was going through Frank's mind to be at the place where his father died."

Mrs. Weininger's next task was to win CIA support for her effort to, as she puts it, "bring these men home."

Finally, things fell into place. Documents were declassified, information was confirmed and new details were revealed.

The U.S. Embassy in Managua agreed to help her. The Nicaraguan government of President Arnoldo Aleman agreed to do all it could. And just a few weeks ago, the CIA announced it would spend \$70,000 on the gravesite search.

"Mr. Garcia and Mr. Gonzalez distinguished themselves by their valor and their patriotism and made the ultimate sacrifice while serving our nation," CIA Director George Tenet said in a statement.

Just a few days later, Mrs. Weininger was on her way from Miami, the identification lab team was making its way from Honolulu, and the Black Hawk helicopters were winging in from a U.S. installation in Honduras.

U.S. Army forensic experts say the painstaking task of sifting for bones and teeth should be finished early in April. It will be several months more before DNA testing can positively identify the remains.

But for Mrs. Weininger, who will spend Easter in a tent here far from her husband and two children in Miami, the goal has been realized.

"It's tough conditions, but it's something my heart tells me to do. The story is not about me. It's really not about the families per se. It's about two guys who did the right thing. It's about the U.S. government. ..."

"When I first got on the Black Hawk this trip, the tears were just streaming down my face, and someone said, 'What is it? Are you afraid?' And I said, 'No, I'm just so proud of our country and what they really can do.'"

As she spoke, members of the identification lab team listened respectfully, and a soldier reached out to shake her hand. Around his wrist was a bracelet honoring the memory of American MIAs.

Wall Street Journal
April 1, 1998
Pg. 1

Clinton left Botswana after praising its president's efforts toward democracy and flew to Senegal, last stop on his six-nation African tour. En route, he spoke with the president of France, which is ticklish about outside interference in its former colonies.

GULF EMERGENCY FORCES CANCELLATION OF MISSILE DEFENSE PIECE OF JTFX-98-2

Although no shots were fired nor any bombs dropped, the Navy has suffered a minor casualty from the recent standoff with Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. A joint service theater missile defense exercise that had been planned for early May has been scrapped because the Navy's rushed and unanticipated deployment to the gulf over recent weeks left service leaders without enough time to plan for the exercise, according to Capt. Pete Mitchell, a spokesman for U.S. Atlantic Command.

As part of Joint Fleet Exercise 98-2, the Navy and other services planned to hold a missile defense exercise to test new systems and concepts. During that exercise, the Navy planned to unveil a prototype system designed to help commanders plan and coordinate joint air defenses. The Area Air Defense Commander system is designed to act as a tactical decision aid to help commanders plan the best application of missile defense assets. Under Navy direction, the Johns Hopkins Advanced Physics Laboratory is building an AADC prototype.

Mitchell said the missile defense exercise planned for JTFX-98-2 is now tentatively planned for spring 1999. JTFX-98-2 will go off as scheduled, minus the theater missile defense piece, on May 1, Mitchell said. "The exercise will include the pre-deployment certification for the 22nd Marine Expeditionary Unit, the Eisenhower battle group, and the Saipan amphibious ready group," he said. "There will also be some associated joint interoperability tasks they need to rehearse." The exercise will run through May 13. --

Thomas Duffy

Four Navy airmen are rescued at sea after crash off San Clemente Island

San Diego
Union-
Tribune

Apr. 1, 1998

Pg. B5

By James W. Crawley
and Ed Jahn
STAFF WRITERS

Helicopters plucked four Navy airmen from the ocean off San Clemente Island yesterday after their S-3B Viking jet crashed during a training mission.

The crew members were flown to San Diego Naval Medical Center in Balboa Park and were listed in stable condition with minor injuries.

Helicopters from San Clemente Island and the supply ship Camden lifted the four crew members from the water within 30 minutes of the crash and flew them directly to the hospital.

Three Navy warships also rushed to the area and picked up debris from the aircraft, which sank in about 500 feet of water.

Navy investigators will be interviewing the crew and examining the wreckage to discover the cause of the accident. The twin-engine plane was assigned to VS-41, the West Coast training squadron for the Viking jet. The squadron is based at North Island Naval Air Station.

The crash happened about 8:30 a.m. approximately eight miles from San Clemente Island, which the Navy uses as a bombing and gunnery range and auxiliary landing field. The S-3 is used to attack submarines and surface ships and for carrier-based air refueling missions.

The four airmen, a pilot, a flight

officer and two enlisted crewmen, ejected before their jet slammed into the water. They floated in their survival vests and rafts in pairs, according to a helicopter pilot who flew over the crash site.

A helicopter from San Clemente Island, operated by Navy Reserve squadron HC-85, was dispatched to the crash. Meanwhile, helicopters aboard the Camden and the cruiser Cowpens, both operating nearby, were directed to the crash site.

The HC-85 chopper arrived first and picked up the first two survivors. Then the Camden's helicopter, operated by squadron HC-11 at North Island Naval Air Station, flew in and picked up the other two airmen.

"It's something we do over and over in training. It almost seemed like we were back in the swimming pool," said Petty Officer 2nd Class John Deboer, one of the two rescue swimmers aboard the HC-85 helicopter.

"It didn't seem real. The water was calm and it was warm out. My man seemed to have minor injuries and couldn't get into his raft so we had to call for a litter," Deboer said.

Steaming at more than 26 knots, the Cowpens arrived at the accident site about an hour after the crash. The ship's sailors found hundreds of small pieces of debris and a large area covered by jet fuel.

Small boats from the Cowpens and another Navy vessel spent several hours collecting the larger pieces of fuselage, wings, a para-

chute and survival raft, the blue fabric from an ejection seat and a sonobuoy.

"I got a jolt from the sonobuoy," said Petty Officer 3rd Class Joshua Shane. The sonobuoy is a listening device dropped from Viking jets when they are searching for submarines. The two-part device has a floating antenna and a line that connects it to a hydrophone. When Shane, a crew member aboard the Cowpens, touched the wire he got shocked from the live buoy.

Jet fuel fumes were nearly overpowering, said Shane, who spent nearly two hours picking up debris by leaning from a small boat launched from the cruiser.

One of the Cowpens' rescue swimmers, Seaman Alphonse Henderson, said he was disappointed that he wasn't part of the rescue of the jet's crewmen, but he was glad he helped pick up the floating wreckage.

"Doing anything to help figure out why the plane went down is pretty good," Henderson said. "I'm just glad nothing happened to those pilots."

After the pieces were collected and put on the Cowpens' quarter-deck, other sailors photographed and cataloged the pieces. Investigators from the Navy Safety Center and the Pacific Fleet's air wing will examine the items.

The Navy listed the four crew members as Lt. Robert B. Fryer of Richland, Wash., the pilot; Lt. Cmdr. Paul J. Ljuba of Newark,

Del., a naval flight officer; Mark W. Wendell of Kansas City, Mo., and Petty Officer 3rd Class Brian S. Vaughn of El Paso, Texas. The Navy said it could not release information about whether the men have local addresses.

The last time a locally based S-3 crashed was July 21, 1995, when a Viking that had taken off from the carrier Nimitz went down in the ocean about 130 miles from San Diego. The four crewmen were rescued.

Washington Times

April 1, 1998

Pg. 12

Israel army drafts young superhacker

JERUSALEM — An 18-year-old Israeli hacker who broke into the Pentagon's computers will be drafted into the Israeli army — and he wants a computer job.

The hacker, Ehud Tenenbaum, will put on a uniform Sunday, said Zvi Eyal, the teen-ager's newly acquired media adviser. If re-

jected by the Givati infantry brigade, Mr. Tenenbaum hopes to get an army job that will let him use his computer skills, Mr. Eyal said yesterday.

In the meantime, the teen-ager, who calls himself "The Analyzer," is being flooded with offers for paid interviews, books and movie deals. He was named earlier this month by the Justice Department as the Pentagon hacker.

McKinney juror attacks credibility of accusers in sex-harassment case

Washington Times
April 1, 1998
Pg. 3

By Eric Rosenberg
HEARST NEWSPAPERS

Maj. John Reid, a member of jury that convicted Master Sgt. Gene C. McKinney of obstruction, on Monday attacked the veracity of six women who said they were sexually harassed by the former top enlisted man and contended the Army's case was based on "flimsy evidence."

"I personally concluded, without talking to each one of them, that they were in fact not completely true," Maj. Reid said.

"The evidence suggested that McKinney did nothing more than do his job," he said in his first interview since serving as a juror in the sexual misconduct court-martial.

Maj. Reid said he found two of the women wholly unbelievable — Staff Sgt. Christine Fetrow and Sgt. Maj. Brenda Hoster. Sgt. Maj. Hoster initiated the investigation of Sgt. McKinney when she claimed in media interviews last year that he had sexually assaulted her in a hotel room.

Sgt. McKinney and his family, not the women, were the real victims, Maj. Reid said, adding that he hopes the Army will overturn the single felony conviction against Sgt. McKinney and the penalty the jury imposed, a reduction in rank and pay.

"When we survey the battlefield, as we start counting casualties, among them you need to name Gene McKinney," said Maj. Reid, who served on the jury with three other officers and four senior enlisted soldiers.

"If the sergeant major of the Army can be removed from the position and court-martialed with flimsy evidence as was presented

to this court-martial panel, then every soldier that is placed in the position ought to be concerned," Maj. Reid said.

Sgt. McKinney, 47, was acquitted March 13 of 18 sexual misconduct charges in a court-martial that pitted the six women against the Army's most senior enlisted official. The women, all but one of whom was junior in rank to Sgt. McKinney, claimed that he had pressured them for sex.

Though Sgt. McKinney adamantly denied all charges, he was found guilty of obstructing justice for coaching one of his accusers about how to answer questions from Army investigators.

Sgt. McKinney was removed as sergeant major of the Army, the senior of 410,000 enlisted personnel, after Sgt. Maj. Hoster, now retired, made her allegations public in February 1997. The first black soldier to rise to the position, he was permanently relieved from the post in October.

Maj. Reid is not the first juror to speak publicly about the trial — two others were interviewed by National Public Radio — but his comments are the most extensive to date.

Sgt. Fetrow, who accounted for 10 of the 19 charges against Sgt. McKinney, "I did not find to be truthful at all," Maj. Reid said. Sgt. Fetrow said that Sgt. McKinney sexually assaulted her and threatened to derail her career.

Sgt. Maj. Hoster's case against McKinney was the "one that had the least merit," he added.

The four other women gave so many differing versions of sexual misconduct by Sgt. McKinney, Maj. Reid said, that he had suffi-

cient reasonable doubt.

Maj. Reid, the only black on the jury, said he did not believe race had a role in the court-martial, even though Sgt. McKinney singled out race as a possible motive behind the charges.

"If race had a role, it made the story more dynamic," he said. "It drew more attention to six white women charging the first African-American sergeant major. That created almost a soap-opera type of drama."

Baltimore Sun
April 1, 1998
Pg. 11

U.N. deputy urges review of priorities

LONDON — The United Nations' new deputy head said yesterday that reforming the world body should mean more than just making plans to cut jobs and budgets.

"What's needed is a more fundamental review of the priorities involving work of the organization ... we have to rethink where best to focus our needs," Louise Frechette, a 51-year-old Canadian career diplomat, told reporters.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
April 1, 1998
Pg. 4

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Citing a lack of evidence, authorities have freed a Bosnian Serb they arrested a week ago after a local court accused him of war crimes.

STRATCOM CONSIDERS CHANGES TO NUCLEAR TRIAD*By Vago Muradian*

The U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM), the joint command that oversees the nation's nuclear forces, is considering whether to change the current air-, land-, and sea-based nuclear deterrent, called the triad, according to the command's chief.

"At this particular point, my position is that you still need a triad, but at some point it will have to fall off the triad," Air Force Gen. Eugene Habiger, commander in chief of STRATCOM, told reporters yesterday during a Defense Writers Group breakfast meeting in Washington, D.C. "I don't know what that point is. Those are the kinds of analyses we're doing now. But all three legs of the triad bring something different and unique to the fight, and I cannot look anybody in the eye and say that one system is more crucial than any other."

For three decades, the nation's nuclear forces have been composed of a triad of land-based bombers, land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, and nuclear ballistic missile submarines. The structure was created to ensure that the United States would have sufficient nuclear reserves with which to respond to a devastating nuclear attack.

But the end of the Cold War and the dramatic improvement in relations between the United States and Russia, has prompted the command to consider changes.

Of the three parts of the triad, the two most likely to survive are ballistic missiles and submarines, analysts said, largely because the nation's bomber force has been converted from nuclear-only to precision strike aircraft focused on conventional missions.

Changing the triad, as well as a range of other questions, are being studied very carefully at STRATCOM headquarters at Offutt AFB, Neb., and elsewhere, Habiger said, to ensure that decisions made today serve the nation's interests well into the future given the continued importance of a nuclear deterrent force in an increasingly uncertain world. Which is why Habiger said he could not say when or if changes would be implemented.

"There are too many variables," Habiger said. "I look at this arms control drawdown as something like a chess game...I've got a pretty good idea where START III is going, 2,000 to 2,500 [warheads], but we should not be focused on just START IV, we ought to be looking at START V, START VI. My fear is that long after I'm retired in the year 2012, some four star at Offutt [AFB, Neb.] is going to go, 'Wow, why did those guys back in the year 1999 decide to cut up all those subs?' That is what I'm trying to obviate."

To steadily reduce the nuclear threat, Habiger stressed the importance of arms control treaties, particularly the START II pact with Russia which seeks to halve each country's number of warheads. Russia now has about 6,000 warheads in its arsenal. The U.S. Senate approved the treaty in 1996, although Russia's parliament, the Duma, has not.

Habiger said he is convinced that the Duma will approve the treaty by July, but added that other officials, Defense Secretary William Cohen, are not as certain. Habiger explained that his optimism is rooted in frank meetings with his senior Russian counterparts and the aging state of Russia's missile forces.

Russian nuclear and space chief Col. Gen. Vladimir "Yakovlev has made several comments recently that some of this systems have exceeded the manufacturers' warranty life," Habiger said. For example, the SS-18 ballistic missile was designed to have a 15-year service life, after which the accuracy of the weapon can no longer be guaranteed, he said. That missile, and other systems, are either approaching, or have surpassed, their service lives, leaving Russia with two options: agreeing to START II and eliminating the weapons; or keeping them in service but spending a considerable sum to refurbish them.

"These are systems that go away under START II," Habiger said. "That's one of the reasons why I'm optimistic that they are going to sign up to START II because some of the stuff they've got now is going to flat run out of service life, and they are going to have to get rid of it whether they sign START II or not."

At Presstime**Britain's RAF celebrates 80 years**

LONDON, April 1 (Reuters) - Britain's Royal Air Force, whose finest hour came fighting off Germany in 1940, celebrates 80 years today as the world's oldest airforce.

But there was a poignant touch to the anniversary — the RAF's nuclear strike role is to be ended, leaving the Navy's submarine-launched Trident missiles as Britain's only nuclear force.

Defense Secretary George

Robertson, hailing the RAF's historic battles from the Falklands to the Gulf War, said: "Air power will continue to play a prominent part in world security."

"They can look forward to being a fighting force fit for the 21st century," said Robertson, currently conducting a review of Britain's post-Cold War defense needs.

He has already brought forward the withdrawal of WE-177 nuclear bombs.

U.K. to step up "jaw-jaw" defense diplomacy

LONDON, March 31 (Reuters) - Britain is to turn more of its soldiers into diplomats in order to help prevent con-

"As part of Britain's Strategic Defence Review I intend to elevate defence diplomacy and conflict prevention to one of the formal missions which will underpin our defence planning," he said.

The review, begun by the Labour government after it came to power last May, is expected to recommend making Britain's armed forces more mobile to cope with peacekeeping tasks.

"I want to develop a new role for Britain's Service personnel as world-wide 'ambassadors' for peace and security, building bridges between former adversaries," he said.

(Complete wire copy available at CNS)

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